



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ANTIQUITIES.

I. *On the Irish Coins of Edward the Fourth.* By AQUILLA SMITH, M.D., M.R.I.A.

Read 30th November, 1839.

THE study of the various coinages, which took place in Ireland, during the reign of Edward the Fourth, is peculiarly attractive, from the number and variety of his coins, which have reached our times ; and the difficulties which have hitherto existed, in appropriating many of them to the exact period at which they were struck, give additional interest to the investigation.

My object in tracing the history of the coins of this reign, is, to endeavour to clear up some of the difficulties which have embarrassed our most skilful numismatists ; and although I cannot pretend to remove all the obstacles which have been experienced, I trust I shall be able to bring forward some illustrations, particularly of one of the most interesting coinages of this reign, which will enable me to attain a greater degree of precision, in fixing the dates of some coinages, than has been the case heretofore.

I propose to notice, as briefly as possible, the several mintages which are described in the Acts of Parliament passed during this reign, of which we possess more records than of any of the preceding or subsequent reigns, for a long period. For this purpose, it will be convenient to divide the history of the coins into four sections, each distinguished by its peculiar type ; and as there are a few coins known, of which we possess no records, except such as we derive from the pieces themselves, these will be described in connexion with the types, to which they bear the closest resemblance.

THE FIRST SECTION

Includes those coins, the type of which was peculiar to Ireland.

1461.—In the first year of this reign, at a parliament held at Dublin, it was enacted that a maille or halfpenny, and a quadrant or farthing of silver, be made in the Castle of Dublin, according to the rate of the new penny made in the last year of the reign of Henry the Sixth.* As none of these halfpence or farthings have been discovered, it is unnecessary to take any further notice of them.

1462.—In the next year, a farthing of copper, mixed with silver, was ordered to be made in the Castle of Dublin, having a crown on one side, with suns and roses in the circumference of the crown; and on the other side, a cross, with the name of the place of mintage.† I am not aware of any of these farthings being in existence.

It appears that letters patent were granted to Germyn Lynch, of London, on the sixth of August, in the first year of Edward's reign, by which he was authorized to make coins within the Castles of Dublin and Trim, and in the town of Galway, to the tenor and effect of the statute or statutes, made by authority of a parliament held at Drogheda, in the last year of Henry the Sixth. The coins specified in the letters patent are, a groat of silver, whereof ten shall go to the ounce;‡ half groats and pennies were also authorized to be made, and a privy sign to be on every piece of silver money.§

Before I proceed to describe the coins made under the authority of the letters patent, it is necessary to refer to the statute of Henry the Sixth, according to the tenor and effect of which, Lynch was empowered to make coins.

In the year 1460, at a parliament held at Drogheda, it was enacted, that a groat should be made of the weight of three pence sterling, (forty-five grains Troy,) and to pass for four pence sterling, having on one side a crown, and on the other a cross, with the name of the place of mintage. And at an adjourned session of the same parliament, a penny of silver was ordered to be made, and to have the same impression as the groat.||

* Simon, Appendix, No. VI.

‡ The Tower ounce = 450 grains troy.

|| Simon, Appendix, No. V.

† Simon, Appendix, No. VII.

§ Simon, Appendix, No. VIII.

Simon has published a groat of this type, (Pl. III. fig. 61,) its weight forty-two grains, the crown is very shallow, and within a double tressure of twelve arches, in both of which particulars, it differs from the undoubted coins of Edward the Fourth, of a similar type ; the ornaments at the points of the tressure are also different from those on Edward's coins. For these reasons, I appropriate this groat to Henry the Sixth.

Snelling, in his Supplement to Simon's Essay, has published a penny, (Pl. I. fig. 16,) its weight nine grains and a half, the crown is shallow, within a double tressure of twelve arches, and without ornaments at the points of the tressure. This penny I also consider as belonging to Henry the Sixth.

All the other coins, of a similar type, I appropriate to Edward the Fourth, for the following reasons. The crown on all of them is similar in form and workmanship, and very different from that on the coins just described ; the double tressure round the crown consists of eight or nine arches, instead of twelve ; and at each point of the tressure there are three pellets, instead of a trefoil with pointed leaves.

Of the groats there are four kinds. In the first, the crown, which is deep and broad, is within a double tressure of nine arches, with three pellets at each point of the tressure. On the reverse, a cross, with three pellets in each of its quarters ; those in the first and third are connected by an annulet, (some pieces have the annulets in the second and fourth quarters of the cross ;) legend, CIVITAS DVBLINIE, (Pl. I. fig. 1.) This groat weighs forty-four grains and a half, which is half a grain less than the standard : the deficiency may be accounted for by the remedy which was allowed to the mint-master, of six pence in the pound, or half a grain in each groat.*

* Simon, Appendix, No. VIII.

In every instance in which the *habitat* of the coin, if I may use the expression, is not mentioned, the reader will please to bear in mind, that the descriptions have been drawn up from coins which have been submitted to my inspection. And I avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations, and expressing my grateful thanks, to the Very Reverend the Dean of Saint Patrick's, for the most unrestricted access to his extensive and very valuable collection, to which I am chiefly indebted for the illustrations of this paper. I am also under many obligations to the Reverend Mr. Butler, of Trim ; Mr. Lindsay, and Mr. Sainthill, of Cork ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Weld Hartstonge, of Dublin ; for the loan of some of the rarest and most interesting coins of the Irish mints, and their permission to publish them.

The groat (Pl. I. fig. 9) has a double tressure of *ten* arches round the crown ; the legend on the reverse is blundered, the *s* in *Civitas* is reversed, *i* is substituted for *b*, and an inverted *L* for *N* in *Dublinie* : it weighs only twenty-eight grains. The deficiency of its weight, although it is nearly as broad as the other groats, the blundered legend, the inferior workmanship, and the apparent impurity of the metal, lead me to believe that this coin is an ancient forgery.

The second kind of groat, (Pl. I. fig. 3,) differs only from the first in having three small crosses above the crown, in the angles outside the tressure ; these crosses were, perhaps, privy marks, which by the letters patent were ordered to be placed on the silver coins ; it weighs forty-four grains. Some minor distinctions on their reverses prove that there are, at least, three varieties of this kind.

The third kind of groat has the crown within a double tressure of *eight* arches, and a small sun in each angle outside the tressure. Reverse similar to the first kind. Weight, forty-four grains and a half.—(Pl. I. fig. 5.)*

The fourth kind differs only from the preceding one in having roses instead of suns outside the tressure. Weight, forty-two grains and a half.—(Pl. I. fig. 7.)

The suns and roses on these groats are sufficient evidence, as Mr. Lindsay remarks, that they belong to Edward the Fourth ; they are the only coins of the type under consideration which he appropriates to this reign, and supposes they were coined in the first year.

Reluctant as I am to differ from so high an authority, I cannot help thinking they were coined in 1462, or early in 1463 ; for I have already shewn, that in 1462, a farthing of copper, mixed with silver, was ordered to be made in the Castle of Dublin, having suns and roses within (without ?) the circumference of the crown ; which enactment probably led to the alteration in the type of the groat. And the difference in the number of arches in the tressure may, I think, be accounted for, by supposing that the artist reduced them from nine to eight, to leave more room for the suns and roses in the angles outside the tressure. The groats of the first and second kind were probably coined in the first year of this reign.

* In Mr. Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of Ireland," a groat is described (page 39,) and engraved (Pl. V. fig. 106) as having *small roses* in the angles outside the tressure.

No half groats of the type under consideration have been discovered. Simon has published a coin, (Pl. IV. fig. 71,) which the Rev. Mr. Butler has referred to as a half groat of Henry the Sixth.* This coin is similar to the second kind of the groat which I have described ; it is somewhat smaller, which has probably led to the supposition of its being a half groat ; but its weight is thirty-seven grains, whereas the half groat should weigh only twenty-two grains and a half. I may also observe, that the diameter of the circle on the reverse corresponds exactly with that of the groats, which I have occasionally found very deficient in weight.

I think it is very probable that half groats of this type were never struck, notwithstanding they are mentioned in the letters patent, for the half groat was not ordered to be made by the statute of Henry the Sixth, according “to the tenor and effect” of which statute, Lynch was authorized to make coins. This opinion is supported by the fact of the half groat not appearing in either of the subsequent coinages, or previous to the year 1467.

There are pennies corresponding with the groats of the first and second kinds, (Pl. I. figs. 2, 4.) There is another which has only eight arches in the tressure ; this may, possibly, be a penny of 1462 ; the form of the crown differs a little from the others, but it has not either the suns or roses outside the tressure.— (Pl. I. fig. 6.) The remarkable penny without the tressure, (Pl. I. fig. 8,) is, I believe, unique ; I do not know of any groat similar to it. The same remark is applicable to the penny having a circle of small pellets instead of the tressure round the crown.† These pennies weigh from nine to twelve grains.

Mr. Lindsay remarks, that “the pennies of this coinage, do not appear to present any mode of distinguishing them from those of Henry the Sixth.”‡ But if I am correct in my appropriation of the groats, the pennies I have noticed, all certainly belong to Edward the Fourth.

There are no coins of this type from any mint, except Dublin ; and I am inclined to think that none were struck at Trim or Galway, for in the enactments of the first and second years of this reign, halfpence and farthings were ordered to be made in the Castle of Dublin *only*. The earliest coin known from the

* Numismatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 73.

† Editor's additional plate to Simon, fig. 15.

‡ View of the Coinage of Ireland, page 40.

mint of Trim, as I shall hereafter shew, was struck in the year 1467, and it does not appear that silver coins were made at any time in Galway.

It is evident that the coins I have described were minted before the year 1463, under the authority of the letters patent granted to Germyn Lynch, for in this year they were confirmed at a parliament held at Wexford, which confirmation was rather an indemnity for the coins made under the authority of the letters patent, than a renewal of the privilege for continuing a coinage of the same type; for by the same parliament, and in the same year, coins of a new type were ordered to be made.*

I proceed now to describe the brass and copper coins made under the same authority as the groats and pennies; and here again it is necessary to refer to the Act passed in the last year of Henry the Sixth.

At a parliament held at Drogheda, in 1460, it was enacted, that “a proper coyne, separate from the coyne of England, was with more convenience agreed to be had in Ireland, under two forms; the one of the weight of half-quarter of an ounce troy (Tower?) weight, on which shall be imprinted, on one side a lyon, and on the other side a crown, called an *Irelandes d'argent*, to pass for the value of one penny sterling; the other of vii. ob. (grains) of troy weight, having imprinted on one part of it a crown, and on the other part a cross, called a *Patrick*, of which eight shall pass for one denier.” At an adjourned sitting of the same parliament, the former coin was declared to “be utterly void.”†

The letters patent which authorized Germyn Lynch to make groats, half groats, and pennies of silver, gave him power to make “also eight pieces of brass, running at, and of the value of one penny of our said silver,” and to “be imprinted, and bear scripture, and be of the weight, allaie and fyness, as is specified in the said statute or statutes” of Henry the Sixth. He was also empowered to make “four pieces of brass or copper, running at one penny of our said silver, to be imprinted with the figure of a bishop’s head, and a scripture of this word PATRICIVS about the same head, on the one side, and with a cross with this word SALVATOR then (there‡) about, on the other side,” and “that the weight and

* Simon, Appendix, No. VIII.

† Simon, Appendix, No. V.

‡ So it is in Harris’s edition of Sir James Ware’s works, p. 212.

quantity of the said moneys of brass or copper be devised and made continually by the discretion of the master.”*

These farthings and half-farthings were first published by the Rev. Mr. Butler, of Trim.†

The farthing has on one side a bishop's head, full face, with mitre richly ornamented ; at the top, on the right side of the mitre, a sun of eight rays ; on the left, a rose of six leaves ; legend, PATRICIVS, divided below by the robed bust, which extends to the margin of the coin. On the other side, a cross, a sun in two of its quarters, and a rose in the alternate quarters ; legend, SALVATOR, divided into four parts by the arms of the cross ; suns and roses alternately between the two letters in each division of the legend : it weighs nine grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 10.)‡

Another has, at the right side of the mitre, a small cross instead of a sun ; and at the left, a sun in place of a rose.—(Pl. I. fig. 11.)§

One variety of the half-farthing has, on one side, an open crown, within a circle of pellets, outside which is the word PATRIK ; PA is separated from TRIK by a branch, and a similar branch is interposed between the termination and beginning of the word, and after the letter K there is a small annulet. On the other side, a cross, within a circle of pellets : it weighs eleven grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 12.)

In another, the crown is close ; legend same as that just described ; it has the letter P in one of the quarters of the cross on the reverse : it is corroded, and weighs nine grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 13.)

A third variety has the crown open, but of a very different form from that on the first variety ; the legend, which is defaced, is evidently somewhat different from either of those described : it has not the letter P on the reverse, and weighs only seven grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 14.)

* Simon, Appendix, No. VIII.

† Numismatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 70.

‡ The coin published by Mr. Butler is represented as having a three-quarter face, owing to the imperfection of the coin from which the drawing was made.—*Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 75.

§ Fynes Moryson says, “there were lately found brass coins, by ploughing up the earth, whose stamp shewed that the bishops of Ireland had of old the privilege of coining.”—*Itinerary*, Part i. Book iii. Chap. vi. vii. London, 1617.

A fourth variety has been recently discovered ; it bears on its reverse a cross of a peculiar form ; its weight is only six grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 15.)*

I have been particular in noting their weights, as on this ground I conclude that some of them, at least, belong to Edward the Fourth ; and that all of them are not to be assigned to Henry the Sixth, for by the letters patent granted to Lynch, he was authorized to regulate their weights, at his discretion ; whereas, by the Act of Henry the Sixth, the Patricks were ordered to be made of the weight of seven grains troy.

I have now described the coins comprised in the first section, the type of which was peculiar to Ireland ; and proceed to notice the coins next in succession as to date, and which, from their type, may be denominated Hiberno-English.

THE SECOND SECTION,

Or Hiberno-English type, comprises those coins which bear devices peculiar to the Irish mint on the obverse, and the motto of the English mint, “*Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum*,” on the reverse. They are of two kinds ; one with the king’s name and titles ; the other with the king’s head, name, and titles.

1463.—By the Act of the third year of Edward, which confirmed the letters patent to Germyn Lynch, a new coinage was ordered to be made, and the said Lynch was empowered to act according to the said letters, within the cities of Waterford and Limerick, during his life, in the same manner as is ordained to be done within the castles of Dublin and Trim ; and that he shall make such scripture on the said coin of silver as ensues, viz., on the side of the crown, “*Edwardus Dei Gratia, Dominus Hibernie* ;” and on the side of the cross, “*Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum*,” together with the name of the place of mintage.†

The Dublin groat of this coinage has on the obverse a crown, within a double tressure of nine arches, trefoils at the points of the tressure, and outside it, a small annulet in each angle, all within a dotted circle ; mint mark, a cross ; legend, *EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HYBERNIE*, with small crosses interposed between the words. On the reverse, a cross, with three pellets in each quarter,

* From the small weight of this coin, and the remarkable form of the cross, it may possibly belong to Henry the Sixth.

† Simon, Appendix, No. VIII.

the pellets in the second and fourth quarters connected by an annulet. In the outer circle, POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEV; in the inner circle, CIVITAS DUBLINIE. Weight, thirty-eight grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 16.)

There is a variety which has not the annulets in the alternate quarters of the cross, and the words on the obverse are separated by small annulets: it also weighs thirty-eight grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 18.)

The Waterford groat has on the obverse, small pellets, instead of annulets, in the angles outside the tressure; mint mark, a rose. On the reverse, it has not annulets connecting the pellets in the quarters of the cross; legend, POSVI, &c.; in the inner circle, CIVITAS WATERFORD: it weighs forty grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 20.)

These groats should weigh forty-five grains.

No half groat of this type has been discovered, nor is it to be expected.

A very fine and unique penny, resembling this type, has on one side a crown within a dotted circle; legend, EDWARD DI G DNS HYB; mint mark, a kind of lozenge, pierced in the centre. On the other side, a cross, with three pellets in each quarter; legend, CIVITAS DVBLIN: weight, nine grains and a quarter.—(Pl. I. fig. 17.)*

A fragment of a Waterford penny, the only specimen known, has the crown within a double tressure, with trefoils at its points; on the reverse, CIVITAS w—(Pl. I. fig. 19.)

Although this coin does not bear the king's name, like the Dublin penny, it certainly belongs to the coinage under consideration, for coins were not authorized to be made at Waterford previous to the year 1463; and besides, the trefoils, instead of pellets, at the points of the tressure, distinguish it from the coins of 1461 and 1462.

Halfpence and farthings were also ordered to be made at Waterford, but none of them have been discovered.

There are not any coins of this type known from the mints of Trim or Limerick.

1465.—A few specimens of a coinage are known, of which no record exists,

* This coin is remarkable for the absence of the tressure round the crown, yet, from its type, and bearing the king's name, it cannot be referred to any other period of this reign.

except such as the coins themselves afford, and according to the arrangement I have adopted, they must be placed in this division of the second section.

The groat has, on the obverse, a large rose of five leaves, with a small cross in its centre ; there is a pellet in each angle, outside the double tressure of five arches, which surrounds the rose, all within a circle of pellets ; mint mark, a cross ; legend, EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HYBER.* Reverse, a sun of sixteen rays, having a large annulet in its centre ; mint mark, a rose ; in the outer circle, POSVI, &c. ; in the inner circle, CIVITAS DUBLINIE. A piece of the coin is broken off, and it weighs only twenty-seven grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 22.)

The penny resembles the groat, and has not the tressure round the rose : the legend, as collected from the only two specimens which have come under my observation, is EDWAR DNS HYBER. Reverse, a sun of sixteen rays, like the groat ; legend, CIVITAS DV Weight, eight grains and a half.—(Pl. I. fig. 23.)

1465.—In the fifth year of this reign, at a parliament held at Trim, an Act was passed, the roll of which is lost ; but a part of it, relating to the rise of the value of the gold noble, from eight shillings and four pence to ten shillings, is recited in the Act of the seventh year of this reign.†

Mr. Lindsay supposes that these coins were made in pursuance of the Act of 1465, an opinion which, in my mind, is strongly corroborated by the evidence furnished by the coins themselves.

The legend on the groat corresponds with that of 1463 ; and it is evident these coins must have been minted subsequent to that date, at which time the king's name was introduced on his Irish coins ; and the absence of the king's head proves that they were minted previous to the year 1467, for in that year a new type, bearing the king's head, was ordered to be made. The rose on the obverse, and the sun on the reverse, also indicate for these coins a place in the series, between the years 1463 and 1467. In the latter year the king's head was substituted for the rose, and the sun was retained, having in its centre a small rose, instead of an annulet, as in the coins under consideration.

* The inscription on this coin is somewhat defaced ; I have made up the deficiency by reference to Snelling's engraving, which has a small *rose* instead of an annulet in the centre of the sun.—*Snelling's Supplement to Simon*, Pl. I. fig. 19.

† *Simon*, Appendix, No. IX.

The weight of these pieces may also be adduced as evidence in favour of the date to which they are referred. It may be presumed that in 1465, when the value of the gold noble was raised one-fifth, that silver was raised in the same proportion in Ireland. And in the same year, the weight of the groat in England was reduced from sixty to forty-eight grains.*

The groat of 1463 weighed forty-five grains, and was afterwards probably reduced to thirty-six grains. The penny which I have described is well preserved, and weighs eight grains and a half, which nearly corresponds in proportion with the supposed weight of the groat; and I have already shewn that in the last year of Henry the Sixth the Irish groat was one-fourth less in weight than the English, and that the same relative weights were continued during the first three years of this reign. Hence the weight of the Irish groat of this year, which I suppose to have been thirty-six grains, still bears the same proportion to the English groat, and is exactly one-fourth less.†

It will presently appear that the value of silver was enormously raised in

* Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. ii. p. 358, 2nd edit. 8vo.

† The rose was the badge of the House of York, and the sun was first introduced by Edward upon the coins. This impress he adopted in commemoration of an extraordinary appearance in the heavens, immediately before the battle of Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, (1461,) where three suns were seen, which shone for a time, and then were suddenly conjoined in one. As Edward was then victorious, he took a sun for his impress, which afterwards stood him in good stead at the battle of Barnet.—*Ruding's Annals of the Coinage*, vol. ii. p. 359, 2nd edit. 8vo.

“ And on Ester day in the mornynge, the xiiij day of Apryl, [1471,] ryght erly, eche of them came uppon othere; and ther was suche a grete myste, that nether of them myght see othere perfytely; ther thei faughte, from iiij. of clokke in the mornynge unto x of clokke the fore-none. And dyverse tymes the Erle of Warwyke party hade the victory, and supposede that thei hade wonne the felde. But it hapenede so, that the Erle of Oxenfordes men hade uppon them ther lordes lyvery, bothe before and behynde, which was a starre withe stremys, wiche (was) myche lyke Kynge Edwardes lyvery, the sunne with stremys; and the myste was so thycke, that a man myghte not profytely jage one thyng from anothere; so the Erle of Warwikes menne schott and faughte ayens the Erle of Oxenfordes menne, wetyng and supposynge that thei hade been Kynge Edwardes menne; and anone the Erle of Oxenforde and his menne cryed ‘treasoune! treasoune!’ and fledde awaye from the felde withe viij. c. menne.—And so Kynge Edward gate the felde.”—*Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 16; edited by J. O'Halliwel, Esq.; printed for the Camden Society: London, 1839.

Ireland in 1467 ; and it is probable that so great a change was not suddenly adopted, but was rather preceded by the reduction I have supposed.

There is a small copper coin, of which only two or three specimens are known, and it presents some difficulties in assigning it to its proper place in this series. Obverse, a shield, bearing three crowns, two above, and one below ; mint mark, a rose ; legend, EDWARDVS D Reverse, a cross, having a small rose in its centre ; and in each quarter of the cross three rays, which, with the four arms of the cross, present the appearance of a sun of sixteen rays, as on the coins of 1465 ; legend, CIVITAS DVBLINIE : it weighs nine grains.—(Pl. I. fig. 21.)

A coin of this type, in the cabinet of the Dean of St. Patrick's, has on the reverse CIVITAS DVBLIN ; it evidently is not from the same die as the coin just described.

The value of this piece, concerning which no record has been discovered, may be supposed to have been a farthing, for its weight corresponds with that of the copper farthings minted in 1463.

Mr. Lindsay conjectures that this coin was struck about the latter end of this reign,* but the analogies of its type induce me to fix its date about the year 1467, the only period at which the sun, with a small rose in its centre, appears on the reverse of the coins of this reign. The three crowns on the shield will be explained in the fourth section.

1467. The next coinage of which any record exists, took place in the seventh year of this reign. Of this coinage, which comes within the second division of the Hiberno-English type, only one specimen was known to Simon.—(Pl. IV. fig. 72.) Snelling, in his Supplement to Simon's Essay, published four more, (Pl. I. figs. 20, 21, 22, 25,) and remarked that we had no record of them, except from the pieces themselves. Two pieces from the mint of Trim, and one of Drogheda, have been recently discovered, and have added considerably to the interest attached to this very remarkable coinage.

Mr. Lindsay is of opinion, that the coins published by Snelling were struck in 1467, as their reverses correspond with the description in the Act ; and adds,

* View of the Coinage, p. 47.

that "*the obverse may have been changed by a subsequent proclamation.*"* This conjecture is not consonant with the evidence which I shall presently offer.

In the year 1467, at a parliament held in Dublin, it was enacted, as Ireland was destitute of silver, that a piece of silver called a *Double* should be coined, having on one side the print of a *crown*, with this inscription, "Edwardus Dei Gratia, Dominus Hybernæ;" and on the other side a sun, with a rose, and the name of the place of mintage, which coin shall pass in Ireland for eight pence, and that ten such pieces shall make an ounce, according to the rightful standard of the tower of London. Groats, half groats, pence, half pence, and farthings, were also ordered; and the said coins to be made in the castles of Dublin and Trim, the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the towns of Drogheda, Galway, and Carlingford.†

Hence it appears, that silver was at this time raised to double its former value in Ireland, for the Double was of the same weight as the groat of the last year of Henry the Sixth, according to which standard, the coinages of the three first years of this reign were regulated.

Some months ago, a coin, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Butler, of Trim, was submitted to my inspection. It has on one side the *king's head crowned, within a double tressure of nine arches*; on the other side, a sun of twenty-four rays, having a small rose in its centre: it weighs only ten grains.

The weight of this piece would lead one to suppose it was a penny, but it occurred to me that I had never seen either an English or Irish penny with the head *within a tressure*; hence I concluded that it must be a half groat of the year 1467; and as its type differed from every other coin described in the Acts of this reign, I conjectured that Simon had committed an error in transcribing the description of the *Double* in the Act of 1467.

Shortly after, I called on Sir William Betham, and mentioned to him my conjecture; he very kindly permitted me to inspect his manuscript notes from the Irish records, and immediately produced the volume containing the extract from the Act of the seventh year of Edward the Fourth. I was highly pleased to find my conjecture confirmed, for the coin called a "double" was described

* View of the Coinage, p. 41.

† Simon, Appendix, No. IX.

in Sir William's extract as "having an impression of a *face and crown* on one side," and on the other side, the device and inscription as given by Simon.*

I am also indebted to Sir William Betham for permission to publish a clause which he has transcribed, relating to the penny, half penny, and farthing, of this coinage. It states, that "in consequence of the smallness of the penny, it shall be lawful to insert the weight of ten pennies of alloy above the silver, at the king's cost, so that the eighty pennies shall weigh *an ounce and a half*, and contain the impression of the groat; and that the half pennies or farthings may be alloyed at the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy."

By this clause, it appears that the penny should weigh nearly eight grains and a half. The Act, as published by Simon, says, "Also that a piece be made, called a denier, (penny,) containing the half of the piece of two deniers, eighty of which shall go to the *ounce*, besides the alloy."†

Before I enter on the description of the coins, it is necessary to say a few words respecting the standard weight, as the writers on Irish coins have occasionally confounded the troy pound with that of the tower.

It should be recollected that the coinage of England and Ireland was regulated by the standard of the tower pound, which continued in use until the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, at which time it was abolished by proclamation, and the troy pound established in its stead.‡

The tower pound differed from the troy pound in weight only, being lighter by three quarters of an ounce; the denominations of their parts were the same. The troy ounce consisted of 480 grains; the tower, of only 450. It appears from the Act, that the coins of 1467 were ordered to be made "according to the rightful standard of the *tower* of London;" and consequently, the double, ten of which went to the ounce, should weigh forty-five grains.

A double groat was discovered in June, 1839, at Trim. Obverse, the king's head crowned, within a double tressure of nine arches; a trefoil, with

* * This confirmation of my conjecture induced me to inquire into some other obscure points respecting Edward's coins, and ultimately led to the investigation, the fruits of which I now present.

† Simon, Appendix, No. IX.

‡ Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, vol. i. p. 18, 2nd edit. 8vo.

pointed leaves at six points of the tressure ; mint mark defaced ; legend,
DVS DEI GRA DNS HYBER. Reverse, a large sun of twenty-four rays, having
a small rose in its centre ; legend, . ILLA DE DROG divided into four
parts by suns and roses alternately : a portion of it has been broken off, and it
weighs only thirty-eight grains. This unique and interesting coin is the earliest
piece known from the mint of Drogheda.—(Pl. I. fig. 24.)

The double groat of the Dublin mint has a rose mint mark ; legend,
EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HYBERN. Reverse, CIVITAS DVBLINIE. This piece is
in fine preservation, and weighs forty-four grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 25.)

A groat of the Dublin mint was the only coin of this type known to Simon,
as was before observed ; mint mark, a rose ; legend, EDWARD DI GRA DNS HYBER ;
weight, twenty-two grains and a half.* The weight of this piece corresponds
exactly with the standard fixed by the Act, and Simon referred it to its proper
date ; yet it is evident he did not clearly understand this coinage, for he describes
a penny of a different type as belonging to it.†

A half groat of the Dublin mint was discovered at Trim, in 1834 ; type
same as the groat ; mint mark, a sun ; legend, EDWA HYBERNIE.
Reverse, CIVITAS DUBLINIE : weight, ten grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 26.)

The half groat now appears, for the first time, in the Irish series.

The Trim groat is unique ; type similar to the others ; it has not trefoils at
the points of the tressure, as in the double groat. Reverse, . . . LA DE TRIM ;
it weighs twenty-three grains and a half, and is the earliest coin on which the
name of this town appears.—(Pl. II. fig. 27.)

An interesting addition to the very few pieces of this type which are known,
was discovered in August, 1839, near Castlecomer, county Kilkenny ; it is the
half groat of Trim, and is unique ; mint mark, a rose ; two small pellets over the
crown ; legend, EDWARDVS DI GRA DNS HYBE. Reverse, a sun of twenty-four
rays ; legend, VILLA DE TRIM ; after the word Trim, there is a trefoil with
pointed leaves, and pellets between them ; its weight is eleven grains and a
quarter, which accords exactly with the standard.—(Pl. II. fig. 28.)

I must now make a few remarks on the three small coins engraved in Snel-
ling's Supplement to Simon.‡ They are described as "having a large sun of

* Simon, Pl. IV. fig. 72.

† Simon, p. 26, and Pl. V. fig. 114.

‡ Pl. I. figs. 20, 21, 25.

fifteen rays" on their reverses ; yet in the engravings, figs. 20 and 21 have suns of sixteen rays ; and fig. 25, a sun of only ten rays, although it is full as large as fig. 21. Fig. 20, from its small size, and the *absence of the tressure* round the head, I believe to be the penny of this coinage ; but its weight is said to be *eleven grains and a half*, which must be a mistake, as I have already shewn that the weight of the half groat ought to be eleven grains and a quarter ; besides, according to the clause which I have given, on the authority of Sir William Betham, the penny should weigh about eight grains and a half ; and by the Act, as published by Simon, it should weigh only about five grains and a half.—(See p. 16.) Fig. 21 corresponds in size with the Dublin half groat which I have published, but differs from it in having a rose for its mint mark ; and the legends on the obverse and reverse are also different ; besides, the sun has only sixteen rays, instead of twenty-four, the number on the five pieces in my plates. Its weight is stated to be twenty-two grains, being only half a grain less than the groat published by Simon.—(Pl. IV. fig. 72.)

Fig. 25 is very remarkable ; its obverse is similar to an English penny of Edward the First or Third ; yet from the sun on its reverse, it cannot be appropriated to any king but Edward the Fourth ; it has no rose in its centre, and the legend, *CIVITAS DVBLINI*, is not divided into four parts by suns and roses, as in all the coins which I have published : its weight is said to be fourteen grains and a half.

Mr. Lindsay conjectures that this piece may have been a pattern for a penny ; it presents several anomalies in its type, concerning which I cannot offer any explanation, as I have not seen the coin.

The Act of the seventh year of Edward authorized coins to be made in the castles of Dublin and Trim, the cities of Limerick and Waterford, and the towns of Drogheda, Galway, and Carlingford.

The coins from the Dublin mint are the most numerous, viz. : the double groat, groat, half groat, and penny. Of Trim, there are the groat and half groat, both unique. And of Drogheda, the double groat, which is also unique. None of Limerick or Waterford have been discovered ; and it does not appear that silver coins were ever minted in Galway or Carlingford.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that during the first seven years of this reign, seven distinct coinages were issued from the Irish mints ; some of them present

several varieties of their types ; and I may add, that the coins of this period are generally found to correspond in weight, very nearly, with that specified in the several Acts. But the history of the period on which I am about to enter is much embarrassed by the gross frauds which were practised in the authorized, as well as the illegal Irish mints.

Before I proceed to the consideration of the coins of the English type, it is necessary to notice a few from the mints of Drogheda and Dublin, which are not described in any of the Acts of this reign which have been published.

They are distinguished from the coins of the English type by having a rose in the centre of the reverse, instead of three pellets in each quarter of the cross, and for this reason I place them in this section.

The groat has the king's head crowned, within a double tressure of nine arches, a small sun at the right side of the crown, and left of the neck, and a rose at the left of the crown, and right of the neck ; mint mark, a rose ;* legend, EDWARDVS . . . GRA DNS HYBER. Reverse, a cross, with a rose in its centre ; mint mark, a sun ; legend, POSVI, &c., and in the inner circle, VILLA DROGHEDA. —(Pl. II. fig. 29.) In another, the suns and roses at the sides of the crown and neck are transposed ; legend, EDWARDVS DI GRA DNS HYBER. ; mint mark on the reverse, a rose.—(Pl. II. fig. 30.) They weigh from twenty-seven to twenty-nine grains.

No other coins of this type from the Drogheda mint have been discovered.

The groats of the Dublin mint present two varieties in the disposition of the suns and roses, like those of Drogheda ; legend, EDWARDVS DII GRA DMS IBER. Reverse, POSVI, &c., and CIVITAS DUBLINIE ; weight, thirty-two grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 31.)

The penny corresponding with the type of this groat weighs only six grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 32.)

The groat, Pl. II. fig. 33, has a different legend, EDWARDVS FRAE D ; weight, twenty-six grains.†

The penny of this variety weighs only six grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 34.)

* Simon, Pl. IV. fig. 82, has published one with a sun mint mark.

† The groats published by Simon, Pl. IV. figs. 80, 81, are both different from those I have described ; the mint marks are a crown, and a sun.

Snelling, in his Supplement to Simon,* has published two halfpennies of this coinage, but has omitted to state their weight.

The Act of the first year of Richard the Third, which Simon speaks of as defaced by time and vermin, and which, as Mr. Lindsay remarks, “is evidently composed of parts of two Acts, and relate to coins of a very different description,”† enables me to fix the date of these coins in the year 1470.

In the first year of Richard, the master of the mint was authorized to make coins “in such manner and in such places, as is ordained by a Statute” of the tenth year of Edward the Fourth.‡ Now there are groats of Richard which correspond in every particular, except the king’s name, with those of Edward; and my opinion as to their date, is supported by the fact of their deficiency in weight, for in 1472, Germyn Lynch, master of the mints in Ireland, was indicted, “for that when the Statute said, that every pound of bullion coined, should be forty-four shillings in money, he coined out of every pound forty-eight shillings, and that he coined at Drogheda one thousand groats, which being tried, it was found that *eleven* weighed but three quarters of an ounce,”§ instead of an ounce; so that the average weight of the groats was a little more than thirty grains, which agrees nearly with the weight of those now in existence.

There are several Dublin pennies which were probably coined about this time; they rarely exhibit the legends entire, but may be readily recognized by their reverses, which bear a cross, having a small rose in its centre, and the legend CIVITAS DUBLIN. In the quarters of the cross, there are alternately two roses and a sun, and two suns and a rose, instead of pellets, as in the coins of the next section.—(Pl. II. figs. 35, 36.) The former weighs nine grains, the latter only six.

The penny, fig. 37, is remarkable for the legend on its obverse, ED . . . DI GRA REX NGI F: it weighs nine grains and a half.

THE THIRD SECTION.

The coins included in this section are similar in type to the English coins of Edward.

* Plate I. figs. 23, 24.

† Lindsay, p. 47.

‡ Simon, Appendix, No. XVIII.

§ Simon, p. 27.

The value of silver in Ireland was raised enormously in 1467, the consequence of which was, that the price of every thing increased in proportion ; to remedy which evil, the next parliament held in Dublin, in 1470, enacted “that the master or masters of the coinage shall have power to make and strike within the castles of Dublin and Trym, and the town of Drogheda, five sorts of silver coynes, according to the fyness of the coynes struck in the Tower of London,” viz. the groat, half groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing. The groat to have on one side the print of a head crowned, with the writing, “Edwardus Dei Gratia, Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie ;” and on the other side the print of a cross, with the pellets according to the groat made at Calais, and the motto, “Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum,” with the name of the place of mintage ; of which groats, eleven shall make the ounce, troy (tower?) weight ; and that the fifth part of every pound be struck in small pieces. It was also enacted that the master might allay the halfpence and farthings according to the Statute made in the fifth year of this reign, which Statute cannot be found. By this Act, the coinage of 1467 was reduced to half its original value, and forbidden to be taken for a coin after the feast of the Purification next.*

1471.†—By an Act of this year, it appears that a great part of the coinage of 1470 was neither of full weight nor fine allay.‡

1472.—The Act of this year states, that false coins were made in Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Kilmallock.§

1473.—At a parliament held in Dublin, it was enacted, that the coins should be struck, for the time to come, within the castle of Dublin only, and in no other place in Ireland ; and that fourteen groats should make an ounce, according to the just *standard of the Tower of London* ; and to be made according to the fineness and alloy of the said tower ; and that Germyn Lynch be master of the said mint during good behaviour.||

1475.—The groat made in England at this time was ordered to pass, if not clipped, for five pence ; and all the moneys to be struck in Ireland, to be of the

* Simon, Appendix, No. X.

† In Simon's Appendix, this Act is dated 1472 ; and at page 27, he calls it the Act “of the eleventh of this prince.”

‡ Simon, Appendix, No. XI.

§ Simon, Appendix, No. XII.

|| Simon, Appendix, No. XIII.

same value as they now are ; and that all the mints in Ireland shall cease, except those of Dublin, Drogheda, and Waterford.*

1476.—The coin lately made in Cork, Youghall, Limerick, and other places in Munster, except Waterford, being neither lawful in itself, nor of lawful weight and allay, was declared void, and forbidden to be taken in payment.†

I have now given the substance of the several Acts which were passed from the year 1470 to 1476 ; and, from the number and variety of coins struck during this period, which are in existence ; the obscurity and imperfections of the Acts of parliament ; and the general deficiency of the coins in weight, the most convenient arrangement which can be adopted, is, to describe, first, the coins of the several mints ; and afterwards endeavour to assign them to their proper dates.

CORK MINT.

Two varieties of the groat are known ; one has the king's head, within a double tressure of nine arches ; trefoils at six of its points ; and at each side of the neck, a quatrefoil ; legend, EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HIBERNIE. Reverse, a cross, with three pellets in each quarter ; motto, POSI DEVM AIVTORE MEVM ; in the inner circle, CIVITAS CORCAGIE ; mint mark, a rose in three places ; weight, thirty-eight grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 38.)

The other has a pellet at each side of the king's neck, and only a single pointed leaf at the points of the tressure ; legend, EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS IBERIE. Reverse, POSV . DEV . ADIVTOR MEV ; in the inner circle, CIVITAS CORCAGIE ; no mint mark on either side. This piece is well preserved, and weighs only thirty grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 39.)

DROGHEDA MINT.

The groat bears the king's head, within a double tressure of nine arches ; legend, EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HYBER, or HYBERNI ; mint marks, a crown, and a cross pierced in the centre. Reverse, POSVI, &c. ; and in the inner circle, VILLA DE DROGHEDA. They weigh from thirty-three to thirty-four grains.—(Pl. II. figs. 40, 41.)

Simon, Appendix, No. XIV.

† Simon, Appendix, No. XV.

The groats with the letter G on the king's bust are more numerous ; mint mark, a cross pierced in the centre ; legend, EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HYBERN. Some have an annulet at each side of the king's neck. The average weight of eight well preserved pieces is thirty-two grains.—(Pl. II. figs. 42, 43.)

A half groat has been recently discovered, and is unique ; legend, EDWARD DI GRA DNS HYBER ; mint mark, a sun ; it has not trefoils at the points of the tressure. Reverse, POSVI, &c., and VILLA DE DROGHE : weight, fifteen grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 44.)

Of the pennies, there are four varieties.

The first has a pellet at each side of the king's neck. Reverse, VILLA DE DROGHE : weight, eight grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 45.)

The second has a small rose in the centre of the reverse, and weighs only six grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 46.)*

The third has an ornament, consisting of four loops united, so as to form a kind of quatrefoil, in the centre of the reverse ;† legends, EDWARD DNS HYBER, and VILLA DE DROGHEDA : weight, seven grains.—(Pl. II. fig. 47.)

The fourth variety has a small sun at each side of the king's neck ; and the legend on the obverse is different from all the others, viz. EDWARD REX ANG . FR ; mint mark, a cross.‡ I do not know of any Drogheda groat with a similar legend.

DUBLIN MINT.

The legend on the groat is EDWARDVS DI GRA DNS HYBERNIE ; mint marks, a rose, and a cross pierced in the centre. Reverse, POSVI & ; and in the inner circle, CIVITAS DVBLINIE. They weigh from thirty-five and a half to forty-five and a half grains.—(Pl. III. fig. 48.) This is the heaviest piece of the English

* I should have placed this coin at the end of the second section, on account of the rose on its reverse, were it not that the pellets in the quarters of the cross identify it more closely with the coins described in this section. This piece, taken together with No. 36, exhibits the transition of the type from the coins of the Hiberno-English series to that of the English type described in this section.

† A similar ornament occurs on the York and Durham pennies of Edward the Fourth.—*Ruding*, Suppl. Pl. III. figs. 21, 28, 2nd edit.

‡ Simon, Pl. IV. fig. 92.

type which I have met with ; it is more than four grains above the standard weight fixed by the Act under the authority of which it was coined.

The groats with the letter G on the king's bust are more numerous ; the legends are, EDWARDVS DEI GRA DNS HYBER, HYBERN, and HYBERNI ; mint marks, a sun, a cross, and a cinquefoil. They present many varieties, which it is unnecessary to particularize, and usually weigh about thirty-two grains each.—(Pl. III. figs. 49, 50.)

The legend on the half groat is, EDWARD DI GRA DNS HYBER ; some have small pellets between the words, others small crosses ; the latter is the most common on the coins of this type ; mint marks, a sun and a cross. Reverse, POSVI, &c., and CIVITAS DUBLIN. They weigh seventeen grains.—(Pl. III. figs. 51, 52.)

The penny weighs seven grains and a half, and has a small cross at each side of the king's neck ; legends, EDWARD DI GRA DNS HYBER, and CIVITAS DUBLINIE.—(Pl. III. fig. 53.)

Another has small pellets, instead of crosses, at each side of the king's neck.

A third variety has a kind of quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse, and the legend, CIVITAS DUBLIN ; it weighs only six grains.—(Pl. III. fig. 54.)

LIMERICK MINT.

The groats present three varieties in the legends, EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL ET FR OR FRANC, and EDWARD DI GRA DNS HYBERNI. They all have the letter L on the king's bust, and have either a rose, a cross, or a cinquefoil, at each side of the neck ; mint marks, on the obverse, a cross pierced in the centre, and a cinque foil at the beginning of the legend on the reverse ; in the inner circle, CIVITAS LIMIRICI, and one of the pellets in the alternate quarters of the cross is replaced by a cinquefoil. They weigh in general about thirty-one grains.—(Pl. III. figs. 55, 56, 57.)

The only half groat which I have seen has the legends much defaced, yet it weighs seventeen grains ; there is a quatrefoil at each side of the neck, and on the reverse, CIVITAS LIMIRICI, (Pl. III. fig. 58 ;) it has not the letter L on the king's bust, nor the cinquefoil instead of the pellet in the alternate quarters of the cross, like the groats, and the half groat published in the Editor's additional plate to Simon, (fig. 16.)

The only penny of this type which has been discovered is represented in the same plate, fig. 17.

Another penny has a kind of quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse, and weighs nine grains and a half.—(Pl. III. fig. 59.)

TRIM MINT.

The legend on the groat is EDWARDUS DEI GRA DNS HYBER, OR HYBERN ; mint marks, a rose, and a cross pierced in the centre. Reverse, POSVI, &c. ; and in the inner circle, VILLA DE TRIM. One has a rose before the word POSVI, and another has a small cross in one of the quarters of the reverse. They weigh from twenty-eight to thirty-four grains.—(Pl. III. figs. 60, 61.)

The half groat of this type is unique ; it was found at Trim, and weighs twenty-three grains.—(Pl. III. fig. 62.)

A penny, of any coinage, from this mint would be an interesting discovery ; there can be no doubt that such pieces were minted.

WATERFORD MINT.

Several varieties of the coins from this mint are known. One groat has a \approx on the king's bust, and a small plain cross at each side of the neck ; mint mark, a rose ; weight, forty-three grains.—(Pl. III. fig. 63.)

Another has a v on the king's bust, and weighs only twenty-eight grains.—(Pl. III. fig. 64.)*

Others have the letter G on the bust ; mint marks, a rose, cinquefoil, and a cross pierced in the centre. They weigh from thirty-two to thirty-three grains.—(Pl. III. figs. 68, 69.)

There is a fourth variety, without any letter on the bust ; mint marks, a rose, trefoil, and a cross pierced in the centre. Some have a quatrefoil at each side of the neck, others a plain cross, and some are without any mark in this place. They weigh, in general, about thirty-one grains each.—(Pl. III. figs. 65, 66, 67.)

* A trefoil is the mint mark of this variety, as appears from the coin published by Simon, Pl. IV. fig. 84.

Mr. Lindsay mentions a sun, as a mint mark on the Waterford groats, but does not say on which variety it occurs.

The legend on the obverse presents little variety ; and they all have on the reverse, CIVITAS WATERFORD, many of them having a small cross in the alternate quarters, with the pellets.

No half groat of any type, from this mint, has been discovered.

There are several varieties of the pennies ; one has a pellet at each side of the king's crown, and two small crosses at each side of the neck ; legend, EDWARD DI GR DNS IBERNIÆ ; mint mark, a cross. Reverse, CIVITAS WATERFORD ; weight, ten grains.—(Pl. IV. fig. 70.) A variety of this type has on the reverse, CIVITAS WATFORD.

Another has an annulet at each side of the king's neck ; it weighs nine grains and a half.—(Pl. IV. fig. 71.)

A third variety has a pellet at each side of the neck ; mint mark, an annulet. Reverse, CIVITAS WATFORD : weight, eight grains.—(Pl. IV. fig. 72.)

The legend of the fourth variety is, EDWARD DNS HYBER, and it has a small cross at each side of the neck. Reverse, CIVITAS WATFORD ; it also has a kind of quatrefoil in the centre, and weighs eight grains.—(Pl. IV. fig. 73.)

WEXFORD MINT.

The only kind of coin known from this mint is the groat, which was published by Simon, Pl. V. fig. 93, and represented as if in as good preservation, and as equal in workmanship to any of the coins of this reign. I am inclined to think the engraver has not given a correct delineation of the coin, as I have recently had an opportunity of seeing one, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Butler, of Trim, and it is remarkable for the rudeness of its execution ; it has the king's head crowned, within a double tressure of *ten* arches. The legends are very defective, and appear to have been greatly blundered. Reverse, VILLA WEISFOR ; the s is reversed, and on the coin it looks very like an x, for which it may have been intended ; the metal is apparently impure, and the coin weighs only twenty-six grains.—(Pl. IV. fig. 74.)

One small brass piece is known, which corresponds in type with the coins described in this section. It exhibits on one side the king's head crowned, and

on the other, the cross and pellets ; small strokes, or lines, appear to have been substituted for the legends : it weighs three grains and a half.—(Pl. IV. fig. 86.)

This may possibly be a farthing, as at one period of this reign, the Lord Lieutenant, or his Deputy, was empowered to alay the halfpence and farthings according to his discretion,* a privilege very likely to be exercised to its utmost extent.

Of the seven cities and towns in which the coins described in this section were minted, only four, viz. Drogheda, Dublin, Trim, and Waterford, are recognized as legal mints in the Acts which have been preserved.

I shall first dispose of the mints which were not legally qualified. The Cork groats appear to have been made between the years 1470 and 1473, for the Act of the year 1472 informs us of “there being divers coiners in the city of Cork, and the towns of Youghal, Kinsale, and Kilmallock, who make false coins without authority ;”† and in 1473, it was enacted that the coins should “be struck for the time to come within the Castle of Dublin only, and *in no other place* in Ireland,”‡ and by this Act the weight of the groat was reduced to about thirty-two grains ; hence it is clear, that one at least of the Cork groats which weighs thirty-eight grains was minted before 1473 ; and their blundered inscriptions, together with the apparent impurity of the metal, plainly indicate that they were the work of some fraudulent artist.

Wexford, as a place of mintage, is not mentioned in any of the Acts of this reign ; and the only coin which I have seen from this mint is very deficient in weight, and bears evident proof of the fraudulent design of the person by whom it was executed. I am unable to assign any particular date to this piece.

The weight of the Limerick groats, which in no instance have I found to exceed thirty-two grains, makes it probable that they were not minted previous to the year 1473, at which period the standard weight of the groat was reduced from forty-one to nearly thirty-two grains ; and as the privilege of making coins was restricted to Dublin *only* from 1473 to 1475, it is likely that the coins of this mint were issued during the latter year, for the Act of 1476 states, that “the silver coin *lately* made in Cork, Youghal, *Limerick*, and other places in

* Page 16.

† Simon, Appendix, No. XII.

‡ Simon, Appendix, No. XIII.

Munster, except Waterford, being neither lawful in itself, nor of lawful weight and allay," was declared void, and forbidden to be taken in payment.*

Although Limerick does not appear in the Acts as a legal mint, after the year 1467, I am disposed to think that city enjoyed authority to coin money at a subsequent period. The Limerick coins described in this section are as well executed as any pieces from the authorized mints; and besides the varieties of the groats which are known, there are also two varieties of the half groat and penny.—(Pl. III. figs. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; see also Editor's additional plate to Simon, figs. 16, 17.) The number of coins issued from this mint distinguish it from those of Cork and Wexford, of which only groats of rude execution are known.

Of the coins from the authorized mints, those of Trim appear to have been made between the years 1470 and 1473, for in the latter year the privilege of striking money was withdrawn from this mint, and it does not appear to have been restored at any subsequent period.

The groats of Drogheda, Dublin, and Waterford, without the letter G on the king's bust, were all minted previous to the year 1473, as was also the Waterford groat with the letter \mathfrak{G} on the bust; the latter weighs forty-three grains, and is the heaviest piece of the English type which I have met with, except fig. 48, which weighs forty-five grains and a half.

The pieces with the letter G on the bust were all struck subsequent to the year 1473; some of those of Dublin may have been minted in that year, but the Drogheda and Waterford groats were probably issued in 1475, when the authority for making money was restored to those places.

I do not know of any half groats or pennies with the letter G on the bust.

Mr. Lindsay has stated, that the letter \mathfrak{G} is "probably the initial of Germyn Lynch,"† an opinion which I shall endeavour to corroborate.

Simon, on the authority of a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, states that in 1472, Germyn Lynch was indicted for making light groats at Drogheda.‡ But, independent of this authority, there is evidence in the Act of 1471, that Lynch had been deprived of his office of Master of the

* Simon, Appendix, No. XV.

† View of the Coinage, p. 43.

‡ Page 27.

Mint, for on the eighteenth of October, in the tenth year of this reign, (1470,) William Crumpe and Thomas Barby, merchants, were by letters patent constituted masters of the coinage;* and in 1473, it was ordered, that Germyn Lynch be Master of the Mint during good behaviour.†

It is reasonable to suppose, that Lynch, being restored to his office, would be anxious to adhere more strictly to the provisions of the Statutes; and as so many frauds had been committed in the coinage, he probably adopted the letter G as his privy mark; and I find that the groats with this mark on them are remarkable for the uniformity of their weight, and correspond pretty closely with the standard fixed in 1473. Lynch's coins are more numerous than the other varieties, which, with few exceptions, do not appear to be regulated by any standard.

There are four pennies described in this section, which I am unable to refer to any particular date, viz. Nos. 47, 54, 59, 73. No groats corresponding in type with them are known, and it is only from the larger pieces that the types described in the Acts can be satisfactorily determined.

There is one particular respecting the inscription on the coins of this period, which requires some notice. The Act of 1470 orders that the groat shall have the words REX ANGLIE in the inscription on the obverse. Now I have observed this title on only three coins, (figs. 37, 55, 56,) and on a Drogheda penny engraved in Simon's Essay.‡

Before I conclude my remarks on this section, I must say a few words respecting the weight of these coins. In 1470, it was enacted that eleven groats should make an ounce *troy*; each groat should, therefore, weigh very nearly forty-four grains, or $43\frac{7}{11}$. I presume the troy ounce has been erroneously substituted for that of the Tower, and consequently that the groat of this year should weigh very nearly forty-one grains, or $40\frac{1}{11}$. I only know of two coins which exceed the standard as fixed in 1470.§

* Simon, Appendix, No. XI.

† Simon, Appendix, No. XIII.

‡ Plate IV. fig. 92.

§ Figs. 48, 63. The occasional extra weight is explained by the Act of 1470, which states: "And as the said money cannot always be made to agree according to the just standard, being, in default of the Master, sometimes made *too great*, and sometimes too small in weight or allay, by four deniers in every pound, which four deniers shall be a remedy for the said Master."—Simon, Appendix, No. X.

That the Tower ounce was the standard used in Ireland, is evident from the Act of 1467, which directs the coins to be made “according to the rightful *standard of the Tower of London* ;” and from that of 1473, which enacts, that fourteen groats should make an ounce, “according to the just *standard of the Tower of London* ;” and again, in 1479, “according to the fineness and *standard of the Tower of London* ;” therefore, the groat of the year 1473 should weigh a little more than thirty-two grains, and not “about thirty-four grains to the groat,” as stated by Mr. Lindsay.*

THE FOURTH SECTION

Comprises a class of coins of a very remarkable type, which were the last issued during this reign, and may be denominated the Anglo-Irish type. They have on the obverse a shield, bearing the arms of England and France quartered ; and on the reverse, three crowns in pale, a device peculiar to the Irish coinage.

1478.—In the eighteenth year of this reign, at a parliament held at Trim, before Henry Lord Grey,† Deputy to George Duke of Clarence, it was enacted, that for the time to come, the liberty of Meath be restored and exercised, with all manner of liberties, in as ample a manner as was exercised and occupied in the time of Richard, late Duke of York, or his noble progenitors, lords of Meath ; and that Henry Lord Grey, Lord Deputy, shall enjoy and exercise, by himself or his Deputy, the said liberty by the name of Seneschal and Treasurer of the said liberty of Meath, in as ample a manner and form as any Seneschal or Treasurer heretofore occupied and enjoyed the same. And further, this Act confirms a grant made by the king of the office of Seneschal and Treasurer of Meath to the said Henry, dated at Westminster the third day of March, in the seventeenth year of his reign. And by this Act, the said Henry, by himself or his officers, may for the future strike and coin all manner of coins of silver within the Castle of Trim, according to such fineness and allay as in the Statute for that purpose is provided.‡

* View of the Coinage, p. 42.

† Sir James Ware, in his Table of the Chief Governors of Ireland, does not mention Henry Lord Grey, Lord Deputy to George Duke of Clarence.

‡ Simon, Appendix, No. XVI.

The Statute here referred to is not to be found, but we learn from Sir James Ware, “that in the eighteenth year of Edward the Fourth, an Act passed a parliament held under Gerald Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice of Ireland, granting liberty to the Mint Master of coining pieces of *three* pence, two pence, and a penny ;” and he adds, that “it is, however, worth observing that the impress on the coins of this time, on the reverse, was three crowns, denoting the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland.”*

1479.—At a parliament held at Dublin, before Gerald Earl of Kildare, Deputy to Richard Duke of York, it was “enacted that Germyn Lynch, Master of the Minters, have power to strike coin at four shillings and ten pence per ounce, rendering to the merchant four shillings and four pence, and to the king and workmen six deniers, according to the fineness and standard of the Tower of London.”†

1483.—“An indenture for Ireland was made with Thomas Galmole, Gent., Master and Worker of the Money of Silver, and Keeper of the Exchanges in the cities of Devylyn (Dublin) and Waterford. He was to make two sorts of monies ; one called a Penny, with the king’s arms on one side, upon a cross trefoyled on every end ; and with this inscription, REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE : and on the other side, the arms of Ireland, upon a cross, with this scripture, DNS HIBERNIE ; of such Penyes in the pound weight of the Towere, iiii. c. l. pecs, which is in nombre xxxvij s. vjd. The other money to be called the Halfpenny, with the like impression and inscription, and in weight one-half of the first, all of the old sterling.”‡

These are the only records which remain of the last five years of this reign.

There are two varieties of the type of the coin issued during this period. One has on the obverse a shield, bearing the arms of England and France, quartered by a cross, the extremities of which are terminated each by three pellets ; the shield is within a circle of pellets. Reverse, three crowns in pale, on a similar cross ; mint marks, a trefoil, rose, and fleur de lis.

The other variety has a shield, quartered by a cross, whose arms are terminated each by three *annulets* ; at each side of the shield is a smaller one, bearing

* Harris’s Ware, vol. ii. p. 215.

† Simon, Appendix, No. XVII.

‡ Ruding’s Annals, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 376.

a saltire, The Arms of Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare and Lord Justice of Ireland in 1479;* all within a plain circle. The crowns on the reverse are closer, and of a more regular form, than those of the first variety, and are within a double tressure of eight, or more generally, nine arches; they invariably have a fleur de lis, on one or both sides, in some part of the legend, which is rarely found on the pieces of the first variety.

The following Table exhibits the most remarkable varieties of the legends which occur on the coins of the Anglo-Irish type.

WITHOUT THE FITZGERALD ARMS.

GROATS.

EDWAR REX ANGLIE FRANCI.	DOMINVS HYBERNIE.†	
EDWARDVS . . . ANGL	DEMINVS HYBERNIE.	Pl. IV. fig. 76.
EDWARDVS RANC.	ET: REX HYBERNIE.	„ 75.
REX ANGLIE FRANCIE.	ET REX HYBERNIE.	„ 77.
REX ANGLIE FRANCIE.	DOMINVS HYBERNIE.	„ 78.
DOMINVS HYBERNIE.	DOMINVS HYBERNIE.	„ 80.

HALF GROATS.

EDWARD DOM HYBE.	CIVITAS DVBLINIE.‡	
REX ANGL FRANCIE.	CIVITAS . . . LIN.	„ 87.
REX ANGL FRANCIE.	DOM HYBERNIE.§	
REX ANGL FRANCIE.	DOMINVS HYBERNIE.	„ 88.
REX ANGL FRANCIE.	DOMINS VBE.	„ 89.
REX ANE FRANCIE.	DOMINOS VRER.	„ 90.
DOMIN . . . RERIE.	DOMINOS V . .	„ 91.

PENNIES.

REX ANGL FRANCIE.	DOMNVS HYBENIE.||	
REX ANG FRANC.	DOMINVS HIBERN . .	„ 93.

* The small shield which Simon represented as a figure of 8, (Pl. III. fig. 65,) and described as a mint mark, (p. 22,) was first recognized by the Rev. Mr. Butler as the arms of the Fitzgeralds.—*Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 73.

† Simon, Pl. IV. fig. 87.

§ Ib. Pl. V. fig. 95.

‡ Ib. Pl. V. fig. 94.

|| Ib. Pl. IV. fig. 90.

WITH THE FITZGERALD ARMS.

GROATS.

REX ANLIE FRA.	DOMINOS VRERNI.	Pl. IV. fig. 82.
REX ANLIE FRA.	DOMINOS VRERNIE.	„ 83.
REX ANCIE CIE.	DOMINS VRER.	„ 84.
REX ANIE FRANCI.	DOMINOS VRENIE.	„ 85.

HALF GROAT.

DOMINOS.	DOMINO - .	„ 92.
----------	------------	-------

Mr. Lindsay has published a small coin of this type, which he supposes to be a farthing,* and that “it may possibly belong to Henry the Seventh.” This little piece is in the cabinet of the Dean of St. Patrick’s, is greatly corroded and defaced, and weighs only two grains, which probably led to the supposition of its being a farthing. It is, however, the remains of a penny, for the diameter of the circle, and the size of the shield, correspond exactly with those of a well-preserved penny; and besides, Sir James Ware makes no mention of farthings of this type.

Some have thought, that as the arms of England and France are impressed on these coins, that they should be ascribed to Henry the Seventh, who was the first monarch who had these arms stamped on the English silver coins. To refute this opinion it is only necessary to refer to the coins of this type which bear the name of Edward.—(Pl. IV. figs. 75, 76.)

According to Simon, Henry the Eighth “having, in his thirty-third year, assumed the title of King of Ireland, was so proclaimed the thirteenth of June, 1541, in St. Patrick’s Church, near Dublin;”† and Ruding informs us, that in the same year the title ET HYBERNIE REX was first used on the Great Seal of England.‡ Now the coins of Pl. IV. figs. 75, 77, not only prove that the arms of England and France appeared first on the Irish coins, but that the title of REX HYBERNIE was impressed on the coins of this country many years earlier than the date usually assigned to the introduction of this title. These pieces are therefore

* View of the Coinage, Pl. VI. fig. 128.

† Simon, p. 33.

‡ Ruding’s Annals, vol. ii. p. 443, 2nd edit.

indubitable evidences of a fact, the account of which has been imperfectly recorded by historians. Figs. 79 and 81 are peculiar in having the border of the shield formed of small pellets, instead of plain lines, and the former has a *fleur de lis* before the word REX; the only instance in which I have found this mint-mark on the groats without the Fitzgerald arms.

Some of these pieces are what are termed *mules* in numismatic language, e. g. the obverses of 78 and 80 are different, while their reverses are from the same die, as is evident from the blundered B in Hybernie.*

The many varieties, both in type and legends, which occur on the half-groats, require some notice. Of the six I have published, only one agrees in type with the groats of the first variety, and it is remarkable for having I instead of Y in Hibernie (fig. 88). The same peculiarity occurs on the penny, (fig. 93,) and I have seen a groat which corresponds in this particular with these two pieces.

Only one half-groat, bearing the Fitzgerald arms, is known, and it has the word DOMINOS on each side (fig. 92.)

The obverse of 87 and 89 corresponds with the groats of the first variety, while the reverse of each of them bears the cross with the annulets, and the plain circle, which, with the legend DOMINS VBE on the latter, identify them with the Fitzgerald type.

The former was struck at Dublin, and I do not know of any groat of this type from the same mint.

Figs. 90 and 91, although they have not the Fitzgerald arms on them, do, I presume, properly belong to the second variety of this coinage. The former bears a very close resemblance, in some particulars, to the groat, fig. 84.

Mr. Lindsay remarks, that "the half-groat has sometimes the initial of

* A curious fact may be learned from these two pieces, respecting the manner in which the letters were made on the die. They were formed with punches, or steel types, as is practised at the present time, for the artist manifestly put in the letter E by mistake, and to cover his blunder, he afterwards punched over it the letter B. Other instances in support of this opinion may be adduced, when, for instance, the artist substituted the reversed B for E, (Pl. IV. fig. 70,) and occasionally the letter L is represented in an ingenious manner by a double I, as in figs. 82 and 83. Such blunders, especially the latter, could scarcely happen had the artist used a graver, or cutting tool of any kind, in forming the letters.

the king's name before the word Rex."* I have not met with any such variety.

Sir James Ware says, that liberty to coin "pieces of *three-pence*, two-pence, and a penny," with three crowns on the reverse, was granted to the Mint Master in the eighteenth year (1478) of this reign. I conceive he has committed some error on this subject, for Moryson, who wrote many years before him, speaks of "cross-keale *groats*, with the Pope's triple crown."

Simon, relying on the correctness of Sir James Ware's account, endeavours to reconcile it with the standard fixed by the Act of 1479. He observes, "the standard of the Tower of London must be understood here only as to the allay, and not as to the weight of the Tower," and concludes that "the groat must have weighed forty grains, and ten (twelve?) of them to have been cut out of the ounce Troy, in which case silver was again *reduced* to near its former value;"† and in the next page informs us that "the pieces with three crowns" weigh from twenty-eight and a half to thirty grains, "the half piece fourteen to fifteen grains," and the penny "with the crowns seven grains."

It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile his opinions with the following facts :

In 1473 the weight of the Irish groat was reduced to nearly thirty-two grains, and in 1479 Germyn Lynch was empowered "to strike coyne at four shillings and ten pence per ounce, according to the fineness and standard of the Tower of London,"‡ which reduced the weight of the groat to thirty one grains.§

Sir James Ware represents these pieces in the proportion of three, two, and one, while Simon speaks of them as "pieces," and "half-pieces." I have weighed many of them, and in general they correspond with the weights, as stated by Simon ; they also agree with the standard fixed in 1479,|| and are in the pro-

* View of the Coinage, p. 46.

† Simon, p. 29.

‡ Simon, Appendix, No. XVII.

§ Simon evidently did not take a correct view of this coinage, for he understood the standard as applying to the allay, and not to the weight, whereas the Act expressly provides for both, in the words, "according to the fineness (allay) and standard (weight) of the Tower of London." He was in error in calculating the weight of the pieces according to the *Troy* ounce.

|| Those of the Fitzgerald type are usually somewhat lighter than the others.

portions of four, two, and one, or in other words, groats, half-groats, and pennies.

The groat of this type rarely exceeds thirty, and never, I believe, thirty-two grains, a circumstance which cannot be reconciled with the Act of 1483, by which the penny was ordered to be made of the weight of twelve grains, or in the proportion of 450 to the pound Tower. Groats are not mentioned in this Act.

The coins without the Fitzgerald arms, were probably minted in the Castle of Trim, during the administration of Henry Lord Grey, in 1478; and those with the Fitzgerald arms were coined at the same place in the following years, under the authority of Gerald Earl of Kildare. The half-groat of Dublin, fig. 87, was probably minted by Germyn Lynch, in 1479.

It now only remains to offer some explanation of the meaning of the device of the three crowns, which has given rise to various conjectures.

Fynes Moryson, when enumerating the old coins which circulated in Ireland, says, "Also they had silver groats, called Cross-Keale groats,* stamped with

* As the meaning of this word, in its application to the groats, has not, I believe, been hitherto accounted for, I venture to offer an explanation of it. Reflecting on the subject, it occurred to me that the term was applied by the native Irish to the coin in reference to some peculiarity in the device, as several instances are well known in which coins obtained popular names, having a relation to their type, e. g. Rial or Royal, Angel, Harpers, &c.

As soon as I had made this conjecture, I expected to find its explanation in the Irish language; and on asking an Irish scholar the meaning of Cross-Keale, (croic caol,) he without hesitation informed me it was "slender cross." The fitness of this name will be evident, on contrasting the cross on one of the three-crown groats with any of the coins of the English type, or those described in the first and second sections.

About this time, my attention was directed to a paper published in volume xv. of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, by Mr. Hardiman, in which I found that the term "Cross-Keale money" was used in Ireland so early as 1419, in the reign of Henry the Fifth: "18 marks Cross-Keale money, with a penny addition in every groat," being mentioned as part of the payment of a mortgage.—*Hardiman*, p. 50.

This circumstance at first appeared to set aside the reasonableness of my conjecture, but when I compared several groats belonging to the Henrys, I found those of Calais, with the "cross-cross-let" mint mark, were remarkable for the slender cross on the reverse, which served well to distinguish them from others as well as those of Edward the Third, which have a much broader cross, and they are all found in abundance in Ireland. The accompanying outlines of the reverses of two

the Pope's triple crown ; and these groats were either sent hither of old by the Popes, or for the honour of them, had their stamp set upon them.”*

Sir James Ware considered the three crowns “as denoting the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland,” an opinion in which Simon concurred.

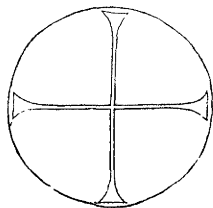
Neither of these opinions is correct ; and it is a very remarkable circumstance, that this device, the meaning of which the learned research of Sir James Ware failed to discover, has, after the lapse of nearly four centuries since its introduction on the coins, been proved to be the arms of Ireland.

This highly interesting discovery was made by the Rev. Mr. Butler, of Trim ; and I am much indebted to that learned gentleman for the following summary of the evidence which he has collected.

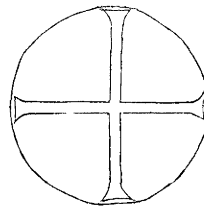
“Mr. Butler is of opinion, that the three crowns were the arms of Ireland, from the time of Richard the Second to the time of Henry the Seventh, for the following reasons.

“1. Richard the Second granted to Robert de Vere, permission to bear as his arms, *so long as he should be Lord of Ireland*, three crowns within a bordure.†

groats of Henry, in my possession, present a good illustration of the difference between the crosses, and tend to support my conjecture.



CALAIS.



LONDON.

* Moryson's Itinerary, Part i. Book iii. p. 284, folio : London, 1617.

† Among the minor correspondence in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1840, the following note occurs :

“I take this opportunity of appropriating the arms on a pavement tile, engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1818, which appears to have been found in Essex. The arms are described as three crowns quartering mullets. They are the arms of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was the favourite of Richard II., and by him created Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland, on which occasion the king gave him for his arms, ‘*Azure, three crowns or, within a border*

“2. At Henry the Fifth’s funeral, on the first car were emblazoned the ancient arms of England ; on the second, those of France and England, quarterly ; on the third, those of France ; and on the fourth, three crowns on a field azure, which, although erroneously ascribed by Monstrelet, who gives this description, to King Arthur, were more probably the arms of Henry’s great Lordship of Ireland.

“3. The crown first appears, on the first distinct and separate coinage for Ireland, issued according to an Act of parliament in 1460, declaring the independence of Ireland, and enacting that it should have a proper coin, separate from the coin of England.*

“4. The three crowns appear on the Irish coins of Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh ; they are unknown to the English coinage ; and when Henry the Eighth assumed the harp as the arms of Ireland, they appear no more.

“5. On the only silver coins on which the three crowns occur, they appear, as the harp does afterwards, on the reverse ; the obverse bearing the arms of England ; and when the legend, DOMINVS HYBERNIE is on the coin, it is on the same side with the three crowns, as it is afterwards on the same side with the harp.

“6. That these crowns are borne, not in a shield, but ‘upon a cross,’ is no objection to their being armorial bearings, as the harp was never borne on a shield, except on some coins of Queen Elizabeth, who instead of one harp, bore three in her coinage of 1561 ; as Edward the Fourth bore sometimes one, and sometimes three crowns. But that the three crowns were sometimes enclosed within a shield, is a fact which is incontestibly proved by a small copper coin,† two specimens of which were found at Trim, and another had been previously discovered at Claremont, near Dublin ; the latter is in the cabinet of the Dean of St. Patrick’s.

argent, quartered with his own coat of De Vere, ‘*Quarterly gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet argent.*’ He died without issue 16th Richard II., and was the *only* member of his family who bore this quartering of the three crowns. His arms are so remaining now, on the porch of the church at Lavenham, in Suffolk.”

* Simon, Appendix, No. V.

† Plate I. fig. 21.

“ 7. In 1483, Thomas Galmole, Gentleman, Master and Worker of the Money of Silver, and Keeper of the Exchanges in the cities of Devylyn (Dublin) and Waterford, was bound by indenture to make two sorts of monies ; one called a penny, with the king’s arms on one side, upon a cross trefoyled on every end, and with this inscription, REX ANGLIE ET FRANCIE ; and on the other side, *the arms of Ireland*, upon a cross, with this scripture, DNS HIBERNIE.*

“ Some device must, therefore, have been as fully established as the arms of Ireland, as the fleur de lis and the lions were established as the king’s arms. What were these arms, if they were not the three crowns ?

“ If we admit that the three crowns were the arms of Ireland, we have no difficulty about this indenture, and this coinage. If we deny it, the frequent appearance of the crowns on the Irish coins is still to be accounted for ; we have to seek for the arms of Ireland, and to wonder at the total loss of all coins, in a rich and singularly varied coinage, which bear the stamp of the national heraldic bearings.

“ The three crowns were relinquished as the arms of Ireland by Henry the Eighth, probably because they were mistaken for the Papal arms ; and supported the vulgar notion, that the Pope was the sovereign of Ireland, and the king of England merely the lord under him. That such an opinion prevailed, appears from a letter of the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry the Eighth, in 1540 : ‘ And we thinke that they that be of the Irisherie wolde more gladder obey your Highnes by the name of King of this your lande, than by the name of Lorde thereof ; having had heretofore a folisshe opinyon amonges them, *that the Bisshope of Rome should be King of the same*, for extirpating whereof we think it write under your Highness pardon, that by authority of Parliament, it shulde be ordeyned that your Majesty, your heirs, and successors, shulde be named Kings of this lande.’ ”†

* Ruding’s Annals, vol. ii. p. 376, 2nd edit.

† State Papers, Ireland, No. cccxxxi. vol. iii. part iii. page 278.

Mr. Butler’s original remarks on this interesting subject were first published in 1837, in the Numismatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 70, and additional evidence was given by him in Mr. Lindsay’s “ View of the Coinage, p. 46. His opinions appear to derive some support from Sir James Ware’s account of the three crowns, as denoting the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland ; for if we take into consideration the devices on both sides of the coins, we find the arms of England and

Simon was of opinion, "that the first pieces with the three crowns were struck in the reign of Henry the Sixth," during his brief restoration, in 1470. But it is very questionable whether Henry caused any money to be made in Ireland during that brief interval ; and when we consider the weight of the pieces appropriated to him, and compare them with those of Edward, ordered to be made in 1470, in which year the standard of the Irish groat was fixed at nearly forty-one grains, it cannot be admitted that any money of the three-crown type, the groats of which rarely exceed thirty, and never, I believe, thirty-two grains, was coined previous to the year 1478 ; and from the Act of the latter year, it may be inferred, that the liberties of Meath had been in abeyance during the first eighteen years of Edward's reign, and that when they were restored, the new type was introduced, and that the privilege of striking money, granted to Lord Grey, the Lord Deputy, was indicated by placing on the coins the arms of the Lord of Ireland.

I have now concluded my remarks, which have extended to a far greater length than I anticipated, when I entered on this investigation ; and I trust that when the opinions I have advanced, and the evidence I have adduced, shall be duly considered, it will be admitted that I have in some degree succeeded in clearing up several of the obscurities in which the history of the coins of this reign have been so long involved.

France quartered on the obverse ; and on the reverse, the arms of Ireland. Now it is probable Sir James Ware knew Ireland had been represented by arms of some kind, but that he committed the mistake of supposing that the device on the reverse alone represented *three* kingdoms instead of *one*.

APPENDIX.

WHILE these sheets were passing through the press, I received a communication from the Rev. Mr. Butler, expressing his desire to make known a conjecture which he had made respecting some of the three-crown groats, and offering at the same time to permit me to publish it as an Appendix to my paper. I gladly availed myself of the kind offer, and I trust that the originality of the conjecture, and the ability with which my learned friend has supported his views, will render it acceptable to my readers.

“TRIM, 1840.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“In Mr. Lindsay’s very valuable ‘View of the Coinage of Ireland,’ he notices some newly discovered varieties of the money, commonly called the three-crown money, from its bearing on the reverse the ancient arms of Ireland.

“One of these varieties, he observes, bears the ‘remarkable legend, Rex Anglie Francie et Rex Hibernie, the latter title being hitherto supposed to have been first adopted by Henry the Eighth.’

“Mr. Lindsay is of opinion that these coins, of which he engraves two specimens, (Nos. 126, 127,)* belong to Edward IV., and I believe that this appropriation of these coins has met with your concurrence. It is hazardous to oppose the judgment of two such numismatists, nor should I attempt to do so in a case which had been fully examined and decided ; but it is probable that it did not occur, either to Mr. Lindsay or to you, to investigate the obscure claim which I shall now endeavour to urge upon you.

“The case we have to consider is this : We have coins bearing the title of Rex Hybernie. To what king are these coins to be assigned ? From their pattern, their execution, and their weight, it is plain that they are of the time from Edward the Fourth to Henry the Seventh, inclusive ; but the public title of all the recognized kings in that period, was Dominus Hybernie, which title appears upon the coins of Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry

* See also Pl. IV. fig. 77, of this Essay.

the Seventh ; and it is not to be supposed that Edward the Fifth coined money in Ireland with a new die, and a new title, who, if he coined any money, used in England his father's dies.

“ If, therefore, we attribute these coins to any of these kings, we must suppose, either that one of them, at some uncertain time, for some reason, which we cannot conjecture, assumed this regal title, and afterwards as capriciously relinquished it ; or that some Mint Master chose to give his sovereign a title which did not belong to him, and to impress it on his coins ; a most improbable act in a Royal Mint Master, and one which a counterfeiter would carefully avoid.

“ But there was another king to whom none of these reasonings apply, who, we have reason to think, coined money in Ireland, and who had a motive for assuming the title of King of Ireland ; and (in the absence of direct evidence) to suppose that he did take that title, and coined money bearing it, is a less violent supposition than either of those which I have considered.

“ In 1486, Lambert Simnel was received in Dublin with open arms by the Geraldines and the other Irish lords, as the representative of the House of York, which was always popular in Ireland, and ‘ as the son and lawful inheritor of the good Duke of Clarence, *their countryman* and protector during his life,’* and was proclaimed king, by the title of Edward the Sixth. Early in May, 1487, he was crowned in Christ Church, and ‘ the Parliament, Courts of Justice, Processes, Statutes, and Acts of the Council, came all out in his name.’†

“ At that time there was a mint in Dublin,‡ and from the various patterns of

* *Campion's History of Ireland*, p. 103, Dub. 1633.

† *Ware's Annals of Ireland*, pp. 4—6, folio, 1705.

‡ If Thomas Galmole, alias Thomas Archibold, was Master and Worker of the Money of Silver, in Dublin, in the reigns of Richard the Third and Henry the Seventh, (and it is probable that he was so, for we find him so styled in 1483, (*Ruding*, vol. ii. p. 376,) and again, in 1506, (*Rot. Can. Hib.*) it is likely that some of the coins usually given to Henry the Seventh do not belong to the Royal Mint. The artist who could design and execute the Dominus Groat of Richard the Third, could not have perpetrated such barbarisms of spelling as *Sivitas* and *Duxlin*, or the barbarities of execution which disgraced these coins. If they belong to this reign they are probably some of the counterfeit money against which Henry the Seventh issued a proclamation in 1492, (*Ware*.) I may observe, that although more hastily executed, the *Rex* Groats, in the letters and whole style, appear to my not much-practised eye strongly to resemble the Dominus Groats of Richard the Third. Were they both the workmanship of Thomas Galmole ?

Henry the Seventh's money, which are still extant, and from the fact that in 1483, 'the profits of the mint' were 'granted to the Earl of Kildare, in consideration of the charges he is at in the government, during the time he continues in it.*' It is to be inferred that there was, at that time, almost a constant coinage in Dublin, and if any money was coined in Dublin in the latter part of 1486, or in the beginning of 1487, it was Lambert Simnel's money, and bore his titles.

"It is extremely probable that he did coin money, for from his arrival in Ireland, he had at his command all the usual resources of the Irish Mint, and after the landing of the Earl of Lincoln, if from the first he was not supplied with money from Flanders, it was an obvious and easy method of multiplying his Flemish Groats, to melt them down and debase them to the Irish standard; a method not strange to the Irish Mint Master; and although Martin Swartz and his Almaines, would probably require to be paid in the pure grosses of Charles the Bold, some of which are still picked up in this country, and in the north of England, his Irish followers would be satisfied with money of the alloy, to which they were accustomed.

"Now, as it appears from the joy manifested by the Irish, at the passing of the Act proclaiming Henry the Eighth King of Ireland,† from the jibe of Henry the Seventh to the Irish lords at Greenwich, 'that if he did not come over soon they would crown apes,' and from other notices, that the Irish of that day were animated by an instinctive love of royalty, is it not probable that, too wise not to know the power of names and titles, the crafty counsellors of this mock king, the only English king ever crowned in Ireland, would not neglect to flatter the vanity of the Irish, on whose enthusiasm in his behalf they chiefly depended, by the cheap expedient of giving on Simnel's money, which was to circulate amongst them, in addition to his other imperial titles, the title of King of Ireland, thereby gratifying the national pride by nominally restoring Ireland to its ancient dignity as a kingdom, and obliterating a mark of vassalage, and of foreign domination.

"It is then probable that Lambert Simnel coined money in Dublin, and that on it he bore the title of King of Ireland, and it is not probable that that title

* Simon, Appendix, No. XVIII.

† State Papers, Ireland, vol. iii. part. iii. No. CCCXL. p. 304.

was borne by any other king to whom we can assign these groats; we shall therefore be justified in attributing them to Lambert Simnel, until some reason is shown to the contrary.

“ It is true that the claim here put forward rests entirely upon conjecture, and that you and Mr. Lindsay, and other fully informed and experienced numismatists, may be aware of facts, which render it untenable; but the only evidence* which I know of at all inconsistent with it, is the legend of a half groat in the cabinet of the Rev. Mr. Martin, given by Mr. Lindsay in his Coins of Henry the Seventh, which reads, HENRIC DI GRAR HIBERNIE; but what inference can be drawn from so obscure a legend on a coin so blundered, that on the reverse it has CIVITAS DUXBLIN. Your beautiful engraving, which you were kind enough to send me, of one of these groats, from the *private* collection of the Dean of St. Patrick’s, so truly called by Mr. Lindsay a *public* benefit, which has a legend hitherto unknown, and reads, EDWARDVS on the obverse, and on the reverse, ET REX HYBERNIE, (Pl. IV. fig. 75,) strengthens my position, that these coins were struck by the mock Edward the Sixth.

“ Apologizing to you for the length of this letter, which has much exceeded my expectations,

“ I am, my dear Sir,

“ Yours most sincerely,

“ R. BUTLER.

“ *Dr. A. Smith.*”

TABLE OF THE WEIGHT OF THE GROAT AT DIFFERENT PERIODS DURING THIS REIGN.

1461 to 1465, the groat weighed 45 grains.		
1465 „ 1467,	„	36 ? „
1467 „ 1470,	„	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ „
1470 „ 1473,	„	40 $\frac{10}{11}$ „
1473 „ 1479,	„	32 $\frac{1}{7}$ „
1479 „ 1483,	„	31 „

* It is probable that decisive evidence on this subject is to be found in the unpublished Acts of Poyning’s Parliament.

NAMES OF CITIES AND TOWNS WHICH APPEAR ON THE IRISH COINS OF EDWARD
THE FOURTH.

CORK.	CIVITAS CORCAGIE.	Pl. II. fig. 38.
DROGHEDA.	VILLA DE DROGHE.	„ 44.
	. . . . . DROGHEDA.	„ 29.
DVBLIN.	CIVITAS DVBLIN.	Pl. I. fig. 17.
	. . . . . DVBLINI.	„ 8.
	. . . . . DVBLINIE.	„ 1.
LIMERICK.	. . . . . LIMIRICI.	Pl. III. fig. 55.
TRIM.	VILLA DE TRIM.	„ 60.
WATERFORD.	CIVITAS WATFORD.	Pl. IV. fig. 72.
	. . . . . WATERFORD.	Pl. III. fig. 63.
WEXFORD.	VILLA WEISFOR.	Pl. IV. fig. 74.

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER AND DENOMINATIONS OF THE COINS ENGRAVED.

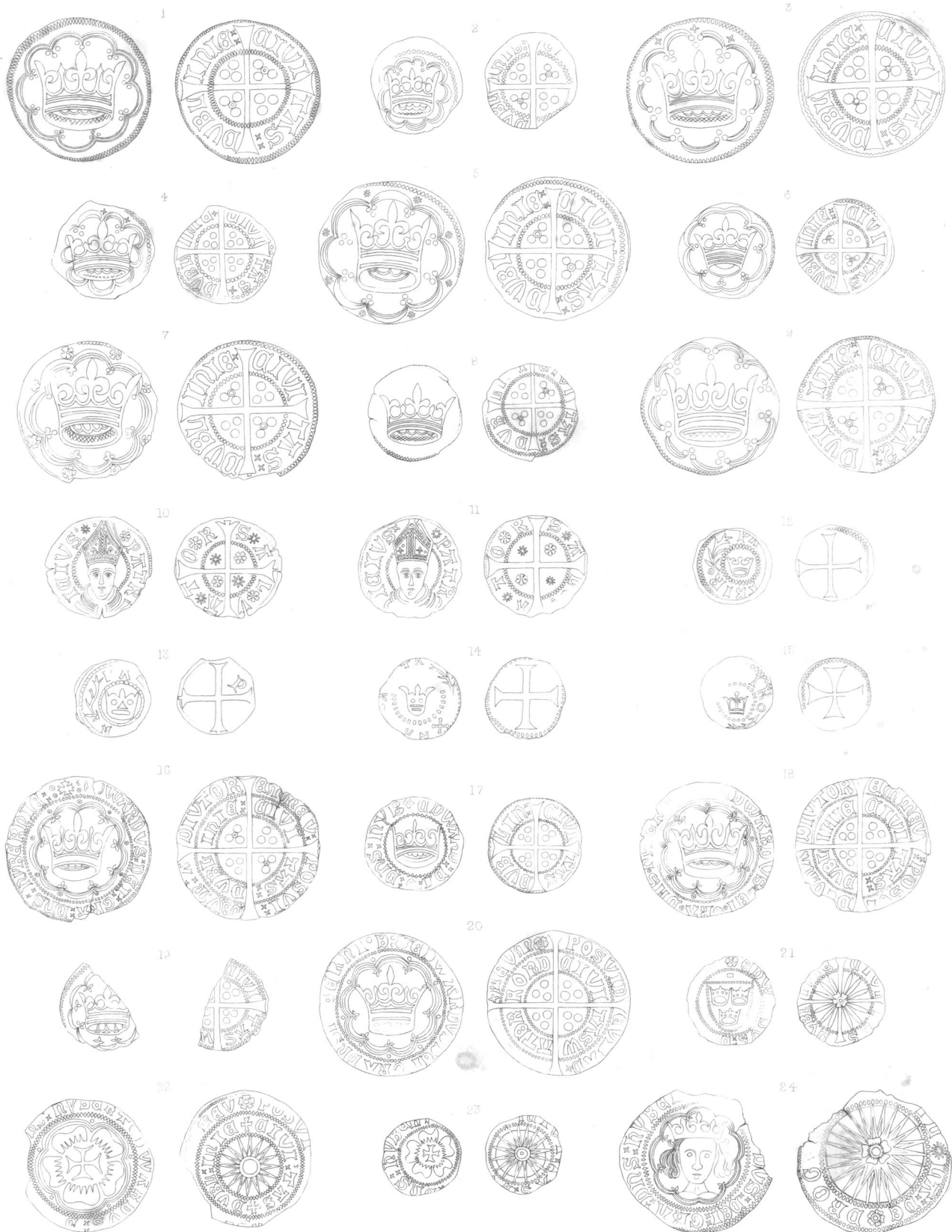
PLATE.	DOUBLE GROATS.	GROATS.	HALF-GROATS.	PENNIES.	COPPER AND BRASS.	TOTAL.
1	1	9	..	7	7	24
2	1	11	3	8	..	23
3	..	15	4	3	..	22
4	..	12	6	5	1	24
	2	47	13	23	8	93

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

The numbers marked with an asterisk (*) have not been engraved before ; several of them are only varieties of coins which have been published in other works.

PLATE I.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	DATE.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
1	Groat.	Dublin.	1461	44 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs.	5	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
2	Penny.	"	"	9	7	"
*3	Groat.	"	"	44	6	"
*4	Penny.	"	"	12	7	"
*5	Groat.	"	1462	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	"
*6	Penny.	"	"	11	7	"
7	Groat.	"	"	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	"
*8	Penny.	"	?	10	7	"
*9	Groat.	"	?	28	6	"
10	Farthing, copper.	?	"	9	9	{ Lieut.-Col. Weld Hartstonge.
*11	" "	?	"	9	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*12	Half-farthing, "	?	"	11	"	"
13	" "	?	"	9	"	Rev. Mr. Butler.
*14	" "	?	"	7	"	"
*15	" "	?	"	6	10	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
16	Groat.	Dublin.	1463	38	11	"
17	Penny.	"	"	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	"	"
*18	Groat.	"	"	38	"	"
19	Penny.	Waterford.	"	(Broken.)	"	Mr. Lindsay.
*20	Groat.	"	"	40	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
21	Farthing ?	Dublin.	?	9	14	Rev. Mr. Butler.
22	Groat.	"	1465	27	12	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
23	Penny.	"	"	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
*24	Double Groat.	Drogheda.	1467	38	17	Rev. Mr. Butler.



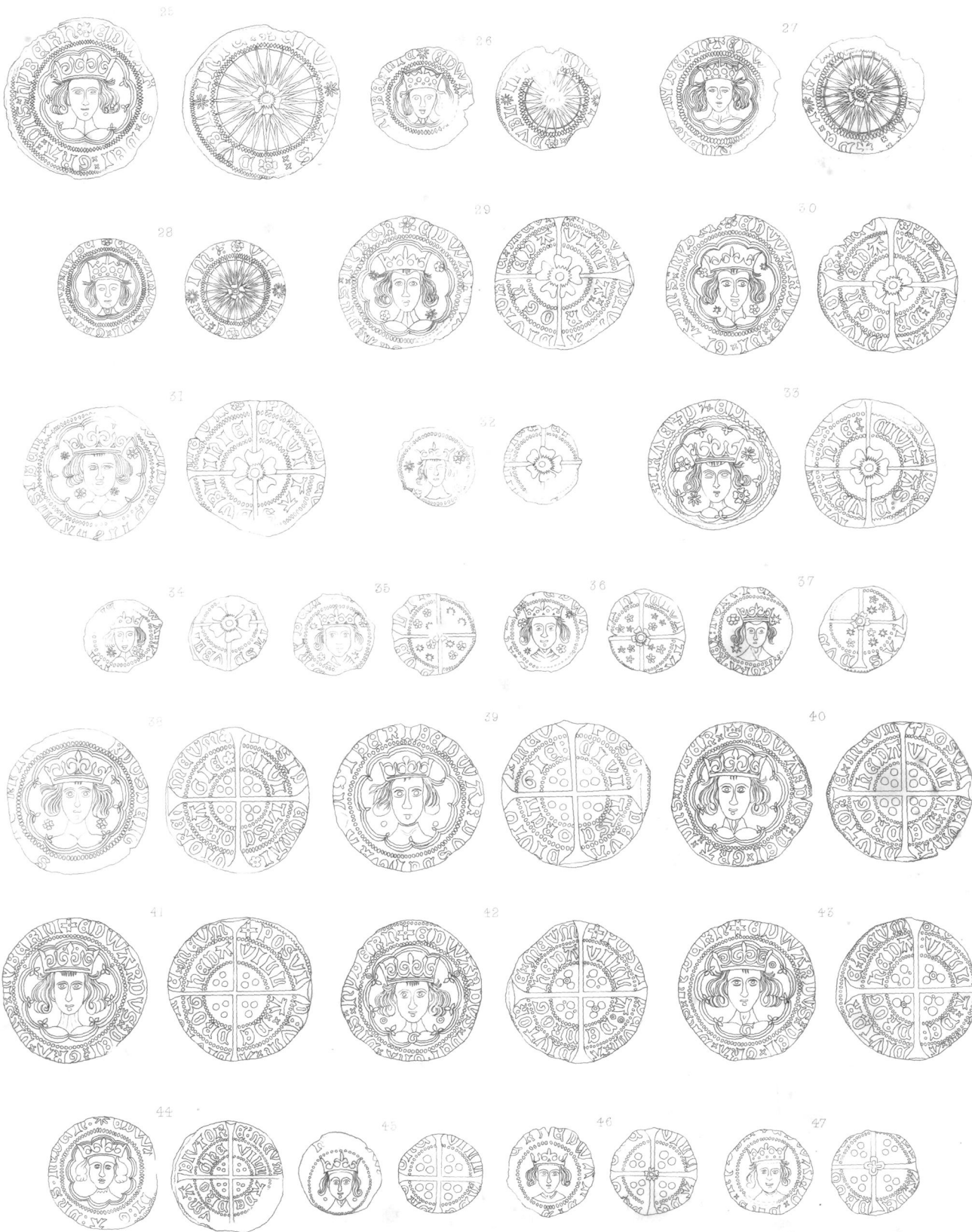
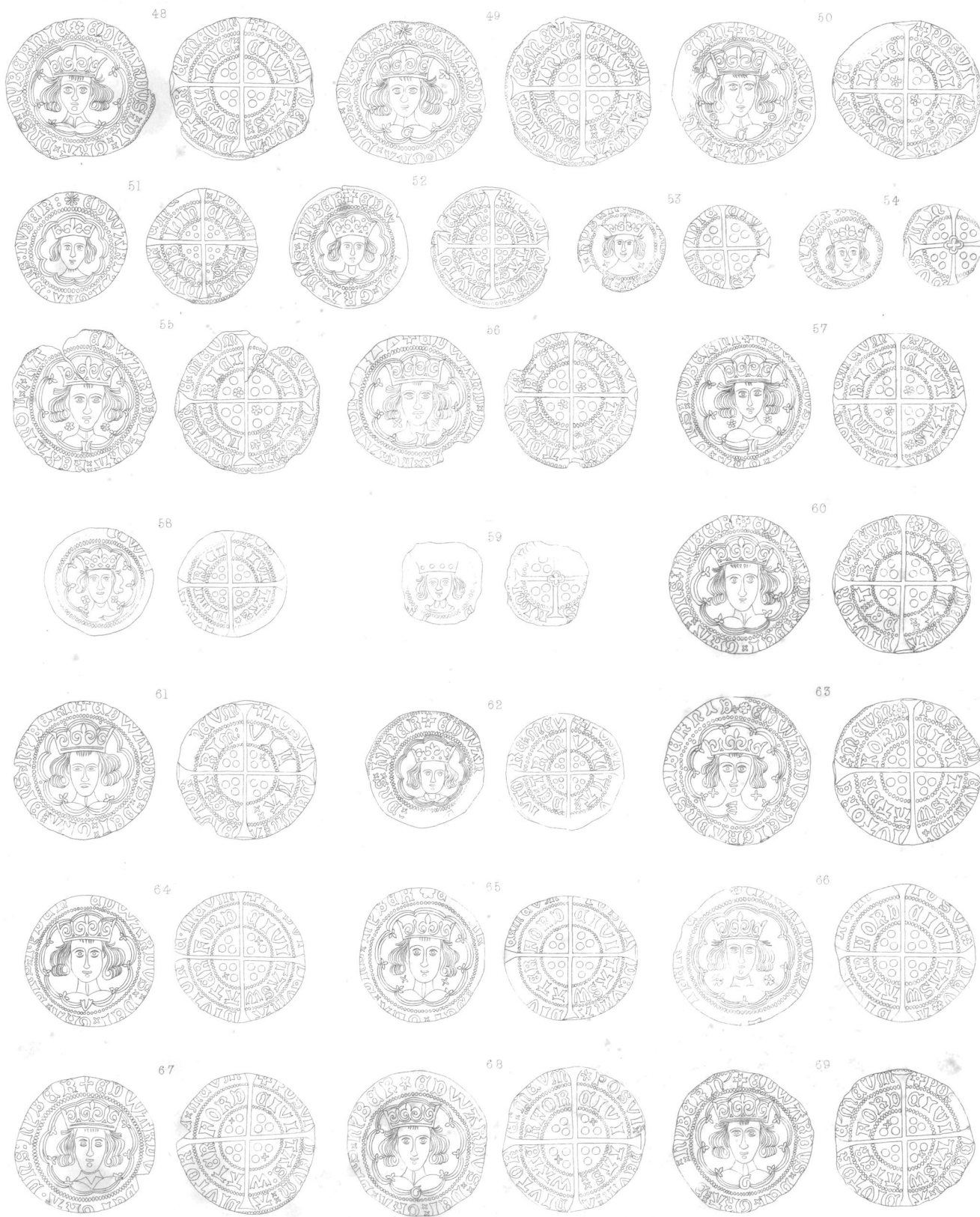


PLATE II.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	DATE.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
25	Double Groat.	Dublin.	1467	44 grs.	17	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*26	Half-groat.	"	"	10	"	Rev. Mr. Butler.
27	Groat.	Trim.	"	23½	"	{ Lieut.-Col. Weld
*28	Half-groat.	"	"	11¼	"	{ Hartstonge.
*29	Groat.	Drogheda.	1470	29	19	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*30	"	"	"	27	"	"
31	"	Dublin.	"	32	"	"
*32	Penny.	"	"	6	"	"
*33	Groat.	"	"	26	"	"
*34	Penny.	"	"	6	"	"
*35	"	"	?	9	20	"
*36	"	"	?	6	"	"
*37	"	"	?	9½	"	"
*38	Groat.	Cork.	1470-2	38	22	"
*39	"	"	"	30	"	"
*40	"	Drogheda.	"	33	"	"
*41	"	"	"	34	"	"
*42	"	"	1473-8	32½	23	"
*43	"	"	"	33	"	"
*44	Half-groat.	"	"	15	"	"
*45	Penny.	"	"	8	"	Mr. Lindsay.
*46	"	"	"	6	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
47	"	"	"	7	"	"

PLATE III.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	DATE.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
*48	Groat.	Dublin.	1470-2	45½ grs.	23	Mr. Lindsay.
*49	"	"	1473-8	32	24	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*50	"	"	"	32	"	"
51	Half-groat.	"	"	17	"	"
*52	"	"	"	17	"	Mr. Sainthill.
*53	Penny.	"	"	7½	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
54	"	"	"	6	"	Mr. Lindsay.
*55	Groat.	Limerick.	1473-6	31½	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*56	"	"	"	31	"	"
*57	"	"	"	31	"	"
*58	Half-groat.	"	"	17	"	"
59	Penny.	"	"	9½	25	Mr. Lindsay.
*60	Groat.	Trim.	1470-2	28	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*61	"	"	"	34	"	"
*62	Half-groat.	"	"	23	"	Rev. Mr. Butler.
63	Groat.	Waterford.	"	43	"	Mr. Sainthill.
64	"	"	"	28	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*65	"	"	"	31	"	"
66	"	"	"	31	"	"
*67	"	"	"	30½	"	"
*68	"	"	1473-8	33	"	"
*69	"	"	"	32	"	"



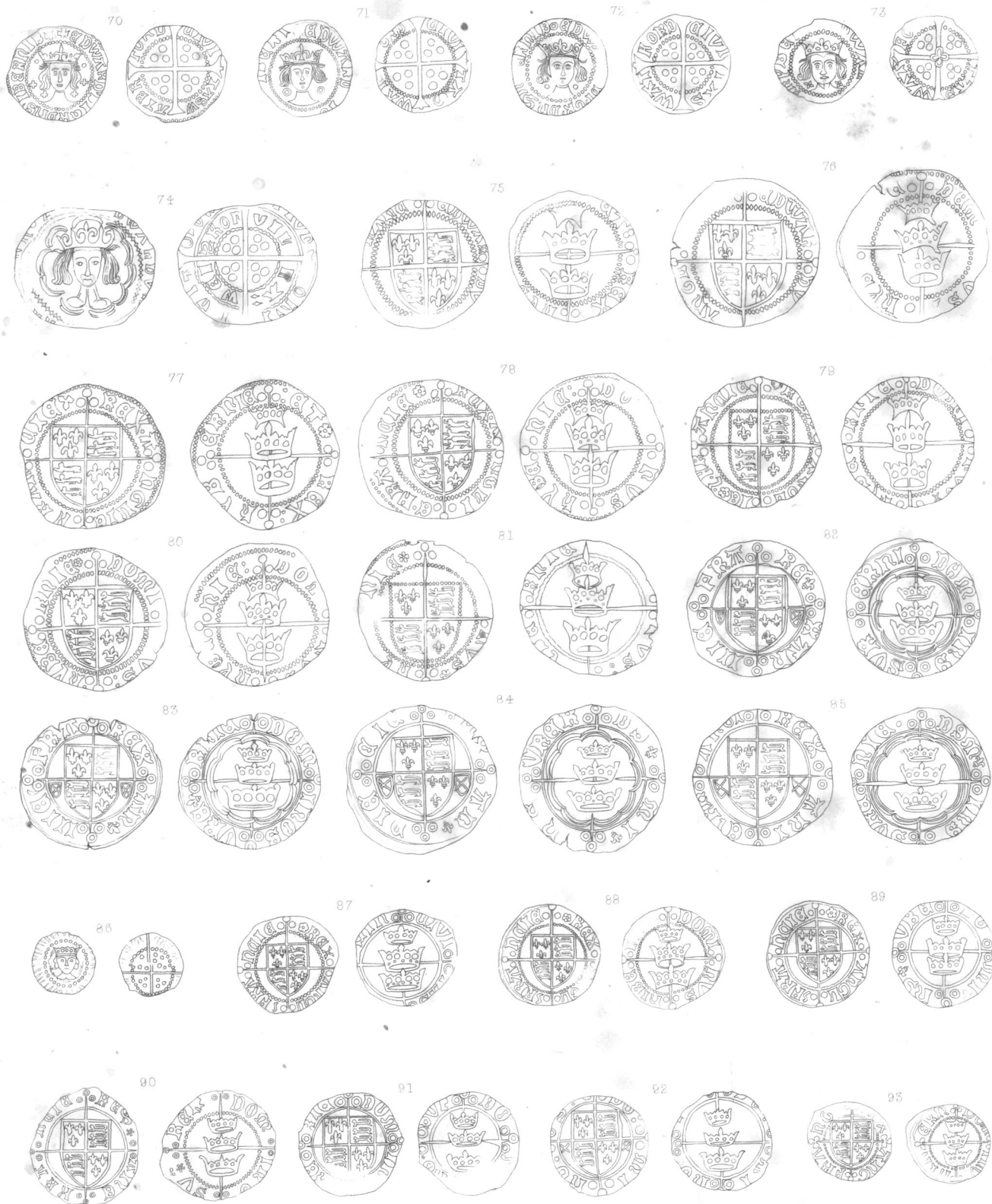


PLATE IV.

NO.	DENOMINATION.	MINT.	DATE.	WEIGHT.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
*70	Penny.	Waterford.	1473-8	10 grs.	26	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*71	"	"	"	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
72	"	"	"	8	"	Mr. Sainthill.
73	"	"	"	8	"	"
*74	Groat.	Wexford.	"	26	"	Rev. Mr. Butler.
*75	"	Trim. ?	1478	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	32	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
76	"	"	"	29	"	Mr. Lindsay.
77	"	"	"	27	"	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*78	"	"	"	30	"	"
79	"	"	"	28	34	Mr. Lindsay.
*80	"	"	"	30	32	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*81	"	"	"	30	34	Mr. Lindsay.
*82	"	"	1479	26	33	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*83	"	"	"	26	"	"
*84	"	"	"	28	"	"
*85	"	"	"	29	"	"
86	Farthing. ? Brass.	?	?	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	27	"
*87	Half-groat.	Dublin.	1478-9	11	32	"
*88	"	Trim. ?	"	13	"	"
*89	"	"	"	12	"	"
*90	"	"	"	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
*91	"	"	"	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	Rev. Mr. Butler.
*92	"	"	"	11	34	D ⁿ . of St. Patrick's.
*93	Penny.	"	"	5	32	"